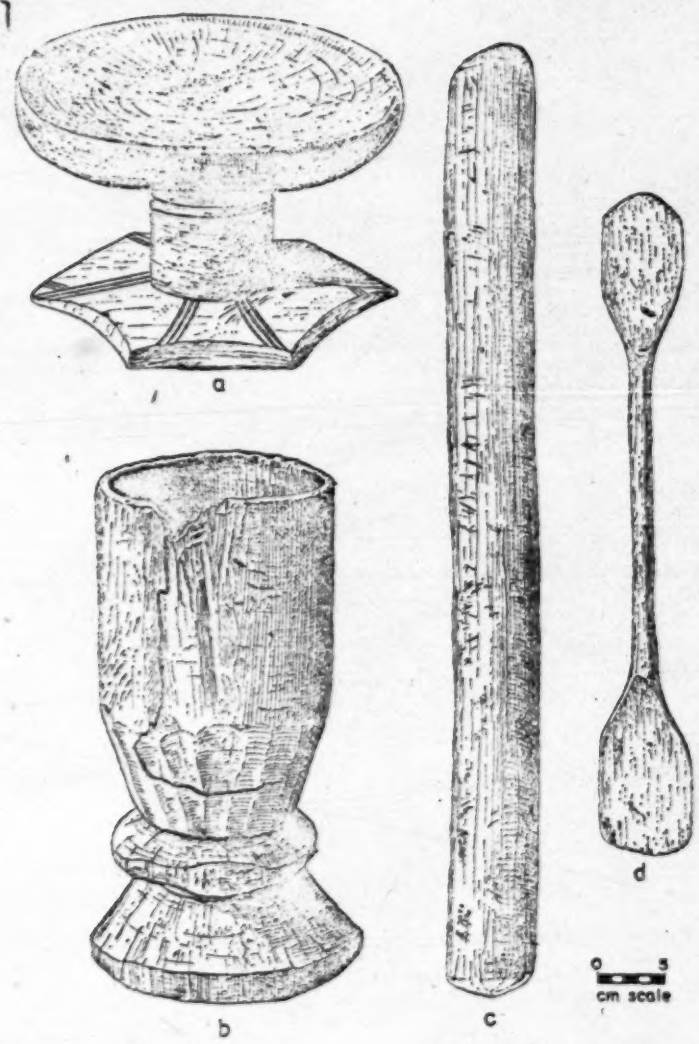
1: Turnbull E-4.5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Bira FO11

[P.168-A]
B
352

B
412



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[426]
[685]

FIG. 4. Household utensils carved from wood, Bira villagers, Central Ituri. a. Stool. b. Mortar. c. Pestle. d. Stirrer. Throughout the Ituri the Mbuti frequently borrow or steal wooden utensils from the villagers. These may be found in hunting camps close to villages.

[NET HUNTERS]

224 according to specific custom (details not given), after which a share may be sent to the villagers. Putnam says that the average catch for a day is half an antelope (the size of a goat) per man [281] (i.e., per family). Skins are stretched on frames, or staked out on the ground, for drying (Figs. 32–33).

224 Anne Putnam gives the hunting rules as told
• 426 to her by one of the great hunters of the Epulu group. From these rules it appears that a net owner, if he lends his net to another, has varying claims according to the number of animals that fall into the net during any one day. The liver always belongs to the net owners, while the head, and a leg or legs if more than one animal is caught, go to the hunter. If an antelope gets caught in two nets, or escapes from one into another, the two net owners share it. If an animal becomes entangled and escapes without cutting the net and is subsequently caught, it belongs to the net owner. If, however, it cuts the net, then it belongs to whoever kills it.

224 Anne Putnam also gives the positions of net
621 owners in the hunting circle of a large band of
554 three combined hunting bands. Apparently,
628 while the junior members of the two visiting bands tend to keep to themselves at each extremity of the line of nets, the main (host)

[P. 204-B]

P 177 439 571 [426]

wants something from a Negro, he wheedles and "begs" for it. He may thus "borrow" a mortar, a skin-headed drum for dancing, etc., and will not return it until the Negro comes after it or sends for it. He will not put any of these things under cover, or care for them; he leaves them out in the rain to mildew and rot. The owner has to see that his property is cared for, and this forms a subject on which the Negro can make fun of the pygmy.

The form of this relationship is therefore a grudging duty in the case of giving, and a wheedling begging in the case of receiving. These outer forms fail to reveal the inner feeling of loyalty and affection between the parties concerned, but rather symbolize the existing situation in which the Negro is at the top of the scale and the pygmy at the bottom.

Z 186 **Negro attitude toward their pygmies.**—The Negroes distinguish four ranks or orders of living beings: people, pygmies, chimpanzees, and other animals. The pygmies are thus considered a species apart, neither human nor animal, but in between. The main point of distinction lies not in their size or physique, but in the fact that the pygmies do no cultivation.

Z 186 563 581 P 581

The Negroes think of their pygmies as barbaric and uncultured, but at the same time they are often fond of them. A Negro may occasionally marry a pygmy woman, and the children are considered real children, complete human beings; they are brought up with the Negro's other children. The Negroes say that pygmy women are good in bed, cheap, and prolific, but that they are useless for women's work—cultivation and cooking. For a pygmy woman it is a great rise in the scale of living to marry a Negro as his second or third wife, despite the fact that pygmy wives are usually the butt of humor from the Negro wives. This is, how-

Z [595] [522]